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ABSTRACT

Data on child poverty from the past 30 years are used to project future trends. A national-level analysis of child poverty over the past 3 decades for all children under 18 years old shows that the number of U.S. children in poverty increased by approximately 1 million from 1980 to 1988; and approximately 2.2 million more U.S. children fell into poverty from 1988 to 1992. Nearly 4 million more children lived in poverty in 1991 than in 1970. Child poverty threatens the well-being of children and the nation, and it reflects economic and policy change. These trends are used as the basis for projections of 2 highly different child poverty scenarios for the next 20 years. State-level analyses of child poverty based on decennial census data for related children in families from 1959 to 1989 reveal that during the 1960s child poverty rates declined by at least 20 percent in virtually every state, with the decline in some being as much as 60 percent; and over the 1970s and the 1980s state-level child poverty rates increased over 25 percent in many states, and as much as 90 percent in others. Projections of state-level child poverty over the next 20 years are produced from these trends. By viewing the future of child poverty first at the national level, then at the state level, those states that are likely to face more difficulty in dealing with the myriad of costly problems related to child poverty are highlighted. However, dramatic reductions in child poverty are possible under certain combinations of policy and economic conditions. Ten figures, 5 tables, 2 appendixes with 2 data tables and technical information, and 16 references are included. (JB)

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Two Americas

Alternative Futures for Child Poverty in the U.S.

National and State Projections to the Year 2010

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CENTER ON HUNGER, POVERTY AND NUTRITION POLICY

Two Americas

Alternative Futures for Child Poverty In The U. S.

National and State Projections To The Year 2010

John T. Cook
J. Larry Brown

Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy

April 1993
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About the Center

The Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy was established at Tufts University in 1990. Its purpose is to promote public policy choices which reduce hunger and poverty, and enhance the development and productive capacities of American families and children. The Center carries out policy research and analyses, and works with governmental leaders and the media, to promote greater understanding of policy alternatives for the nation.

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FOREWORD

This analysis is part of a series on child poverty in America. During the course of the year the Center will produce analyses of various child poverty trends, and social and economic policy choices available to policymakers to help reduce poverty among the nation's children.

Description of The Analysis

This study has two parts. The first is a **national-level analysis of child poverty** over the past three decades for all children below the age of eighteen years. Analysis of data over the period 1960-1991 reveals two very different trends in child poverty. These trends are used as the basis for projections into the future, which suggest two highly different child poverty scenarios for the next twenty years.

The second part is a set of **state-level analyses of child poverty** based on decennial census data for related children in families, covering the period 1959-1989[1]. Here also the two trends are apparent. Projections of state-level child poverty over the next twenty years are produced from these two trends. These projections show the variation among states with respect to future change in child poverty under the two scenarios.

By viewing the future of child poverty first at the national level, then at the state level, it is possible to see clearly those states likely to face more difficulty in dealing with the myriad costly problems related to child poverty. It is also possible to see which states may encounter the greatest success in reducing child poverty.

This analysis indicates that it is possible to make dramatic reductions in child poverty under certain combinations of policy and economic conditions. Conversely, it is also possible to lose control of the well-being of our children and allow child poverty to grow at a dramatically high rate.

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[1] The state-level analyses described in this report cover related children living in families. Related children in families comprise approximately 98 percent of all children in the U.S., and about 95 percent of all children in poverty. Reliable state-level poverty data from the decennial censuses of population covering the period of interest in this study are only readily available for related children. The national-level analysis reported here uses Current Population Survey data for total children in poverty, which are available annually through 1991.

Data Sources for Child Poverty Rates

To analyze trends in child poverty at the state and national levels, it is necessary to employ data from two different sources which are not entirely comparable. The most up-to-date and accurate national-level data on child poverty come from the Census Bureau's annual March Current Population Survey (CPS). Due to CPS sample-size limitations, however, the most reliable state-level child poverty estimates are derived from a subsample of the decennial censuses of population (the "long form" sample).

The income questions asked in the CPS and the decennial censuses are nearly identical. However, slight variation in wording and ordering of questions, sample differences, and the fact that the census is conducted primarily via mail while the CPS is administered by interviewers, leads to slight differences in the child poverty estimates which emerge from each.

The most recent decennial census provides child poverty estimates only for 1989, and does not allow examination of changes over the period since that year. The period from 1989 to 1991 includes the 1990-91 recession, which was unique in terms of its poverty-causing effects. It is appropriate, therefore, to include this period in studies of child poverty. Moreover, limiting consideration only to data from the decennial census prohibits examination of child poverty in the intervening years.

NATIONAL CHILD POVERTY TRENDS

SUMMARY OF NATIONAL CHILD POVERTY TRENDS

Poverty is a problem of growing proportions which impacted more than 14 million American children in 1991. Policy decisions now before the Congress and the new Administration will help determine whether child poverty is dramatically reduced over coming years, or will reach a height unparalleled in modern history.

Child poverty has not always been so severe. During the decade of the 1960s, the number of American children in poverty actually decreased by 45 percent. The number of poor children went from 17.6 million to 9.7 million during that period of time.

During the past twenty years however, the number of American children in poverty has increased by over 37 percent. Nearly 4 million more children lived in poverty in 1991 than in 1970. Moreover, this overall trend continued during the period of economic growth in the 1980s, and into the 1990s.

* **From 1980 to 1988, the number of American children in poverty increased by approximately 1 million.**

* **From 1988 to 1992, approximately 2.2 million more American children fell into poverty.**

If child poverty trends continue over the next twenty years as they did over the period 1970-1991, America may be heading toward a problem of unusual proportions:

* **Nearly 2.8 million more American children will fall into poverty during a possible two-term Clinton Administration.**

* **By the year 2010, America will be a nation where more than 20 million children are poor.**

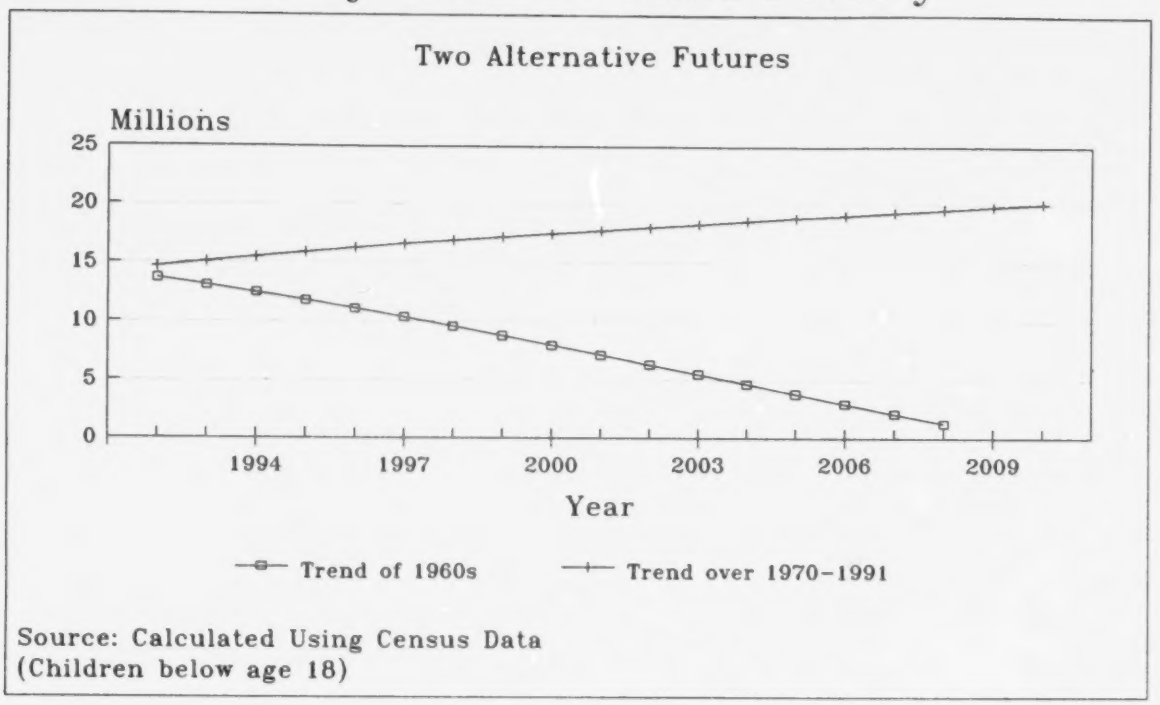
* **The rate of poverty among children will skyrocket to 28 percent -- a figure higher than any time since the 1950s.**

Alternatively, political leaders can adopt economic and domestic policies which may decrease child poverty and change the trend which has dominated for the past twenty years:

* **If this happens, approximately 6.7 million fewer American children will be in poverty at the end of a possible two-term Clinton Administration.**

* **Under this scenario, by the year 2010 the number of American children living in poverty will be negligible.**

Projected U.S. Child Poverty



Source: Calculated Using Census Data
(Children below age 18)

Today, millions of American children live in a distinctly different country, a land of poverty. Analysis of child poverty trends over the past three decades presents at least two distinct choices for the future: in less than twenty years child poverty can be virtually eliminated, or it may increase to a level unparalleled in recent history (see figure above). Economic and policy decisions made in the next year or two will help determine the future reality for America and its children.

OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL CHILD POVERTY TRENDS

Child Poverty Threatens the Well-being of Children and the Nation

Poverty may be the single most important factor in producing outcomes we fear most for our young. The high correlation of poverty with poor health, drugs, and school failure, for example, suggests that attempts to improve the condition of childhood in America must start with efforts to reduce poverty. Probably more than any other factor, poverty limits the capacity of families, and begins harming the young before they are born. Without productive and healthy families, children experience significantly diminished opportunity through cognitive impairment, inadequate education, lack of basic skills, reduced productivity and increased morbidity and mortality.

For more than twenty years child poverty in America has been increasing, presenting definite peril to our children and potential peril to the moral and economic strength of our country. Concern about the upward trend in child poverty is being expressed by a growing number of leaders from varying sectors of the economy[2]. With increasing frequency, business and corporate leaders express concern for the viability of America's future workforce as a factor threatening our economic competitiveness[3].
Driving concern that the well-being of our young is a critical factor in determining future social and economic health of the nation is the recognition that American children

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[2] In a 1987 volume produced by the Hudson Institute, Inc. for the U.S. Department of Labor titled "Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st Century", the urgency of providing "every child who reaches the age of seventeen between now and the year 2000" with the ability to "read sophisticated materials, write clearly, speak articulately, and solve complex problems requiring algebra and statistics" is emphasized as a prerequisite to achieving economic competitiveness and productivity. In a speech delivered November 18, 1992, Hillary Rodham Clinton, past president of Children's Defense Fund, emphasized the importance of American children to the country's social and economic well-being, and noted our failure to "do all we can" for them recently.

[3] In 1985 and 1987 the Committee for Economic Development (CED), an independent research and educational organization of over two hundred business executives and educators, released lengthy analyses and statements addressing the critical problems faced by American children, and their central role in the future competitiveness of our economy. The concerns expressed by CED also appear in testimony presented to the House Committee on the Budget in March 1991 by executive officers and board chairpersons from five of America's largest corporations (AT&T, BellSouth Corporation, Honeywell, Inc., The Prudential Insurance Company of America and Sky Chefs). More recently a group of four corporate leaders (Hasbro, Inc., Stride Rite, Vidal Sassoon, and Sky Chefs, Inc.) met with top House and Senate leaders, and testified at a Budget Committee and House Select Committee on Hunger press conference to urge immediate action to address growing hunger and poverty among American children.

currently face rapidly escalating problems stemming from poverty (see, for example, recent reports from the National Center for Children in Poverty, the Center for the Study of Social Policy, the Children's Defense Fund, and the National Commission on Children).

This analysis suggests that child poverty is linked to government social and economic policy. It analyzes two periods in recent history when child poverty trends went in opposite directions -- the 1960s, and the decades from 1970-1991. By analyzing these periods of decline and increase in poverty among America's children, we see that there may be distinctly different scenarios for the future. It is possible that we can virtually eliminate the problem of child poverty over the next two decades, or we could have more children in poverty than at any time since the 1950s.

These two scenarios can be viewed as representing the worst or best futures for America's children. While intermediate scenarios could prevail, the two shown here represent what can be accomplished when concerted federal policies coincide with a vibrant economy, or the likely outcome when either of these factors is missing.

These distinctly different scenarios are based directly on two major trends that have occurred over the past thirty years. The actual scenario of the future may well be different. Moreover, if the nation is to achieve reduction in child poverty commensurate with the decrease during the 1960s, it is likely that social and economic policies to achieve this goal will not be those of the 1960s. The policy vehicles of one era are not necessarily appropriate for another.

The essential issue, however, is that the vexing and ominous problem of increasing child poverty is one which is linked with and susceptible to government policy. Domestic social and economic policy choices of the next few years provide the nation with a unique opportunity to reverse a twenty-year increase in poverty among America's children. How this is accomplished -- or whether it is -- remains to be seen.

Child Poverty Reflects Economic and Policy Change

According to Census Bureau data, during the 1960s the number of American children in poverty was reduced by 45.0 percent, going from 17.6 million in 1960 to 9.7 million in 1969 (see Figure 1). The poverty rate for children was reduced from 26.9 percent in 1960 to 14.0 percent in 1969 (see Figure 2). This dramatic reduction in childhood poverty occurred during a period of strong expansion in the American economy, accompanied by concerted governmental policy initiated to reduce poverty (3, pp. 300-301; 5, Ch. 1).

Except for the recession during the first two years of the decade, the 1960s were characterized by relatively high rates of growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and low rates of unemployment. Even during the 1960-61 recession, the overall unemployment rate did not exceed 6.5 percent, and was below 5.0 percent throughout

the last half of the decade (3, pp. 300-301, 340). Moreover, compared to the following two decades, the rate of inflation was quite low during the 1960s (3, p. 302).

Both the short and long-term effects of governmental programs in the 1960s are still heavily debated. A Government Accounting Office (GAO) study conducted in 1969 reported "mismanagement, misdirection, and underachievement." It also found significant successes, and recommended continuation of the Office of Economic Opportunity and its administration of war on poverty programs (6, p. 56).

During the 1970s the downward trend in childhood poverty was reversed, with the number of children in poverty actually increasing by 10.6 percent from 1970 to 1980 (see Figure 3). At the start of the decade there were 10.4 million children in poverty, reaching 11.5 million by 1980. The poverty rate for children increased during the 1970s from 15.1 percent in 1970 to 18.3 percent in 1980 (See Figure 4).

Performance of the U.S. economy during the 1970s was disappointing. The high rates of GDP growth in the 1960s were not repeated at any time during the 1970s. Overall unemployment rates were also higher during the 1970s than during the previous decade. Moreover, inflation increased at a very rapid pace during the latter half of the 1970s, partially as a result of increases in world petroleum prices.

During the next decade (1980-1991), the number of American children in poverty increased by another 24.2 percent. The number of poor children went from 11.5 million to 14.3 million, an increase of 2.8 million over the period (see Figure 3). At the end of this period, 21.8 percent of American children lived in poverty (see Figure 4).

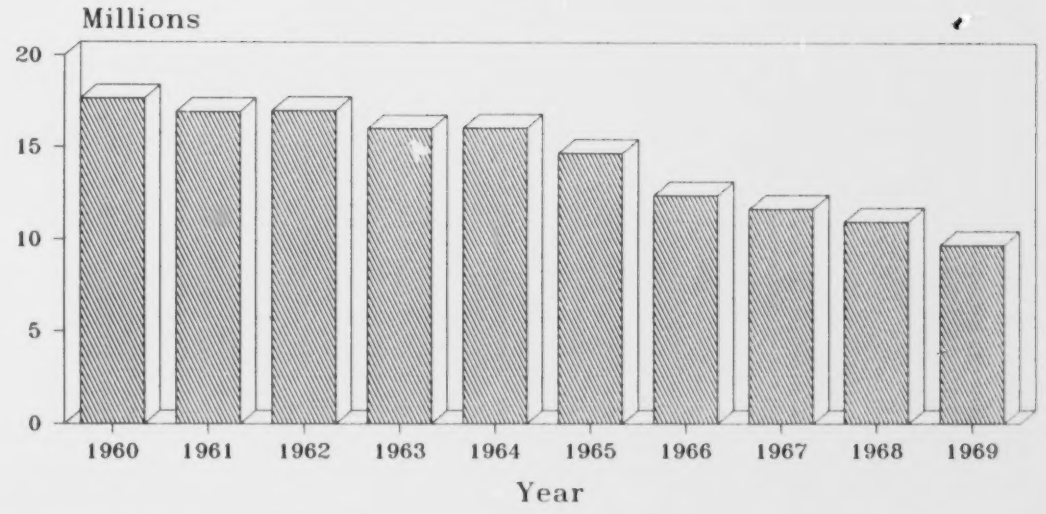
Three recessions occurred during the period from 1980 to 1991. However after the recessions of 1980 and 1981-82, there were seven years of economic growth, ending with the recession which began in 1990. A major divergence from past economic trends occurred during this period with unemployment rates remaining unusually high for periods of economic growth (above 6.0 percent). Moreover, inflation continued to rise steadily through most of the period, leading to greater overall inflation during this period than during the 1970s.

At the start of the 1980s, the new Administration was committed to reducing the role of federal government antipoverty measures, and reducing government's size and level of activity generally. Some domestic programs were eliminated during these years, while funding for others was reduced.

Reductions in domestic programs, along with the two recessions early in the 1980s, continued changes in the structure of American families, further decline in real wage levels, and major declines in the real value of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits, led to a surge in the number of children in poverty. From 1980 to 1984 the number of poor American children increased by nearly 2 million. By 1983, 13.9 million American children were living in poverty, the largest number since 1965.

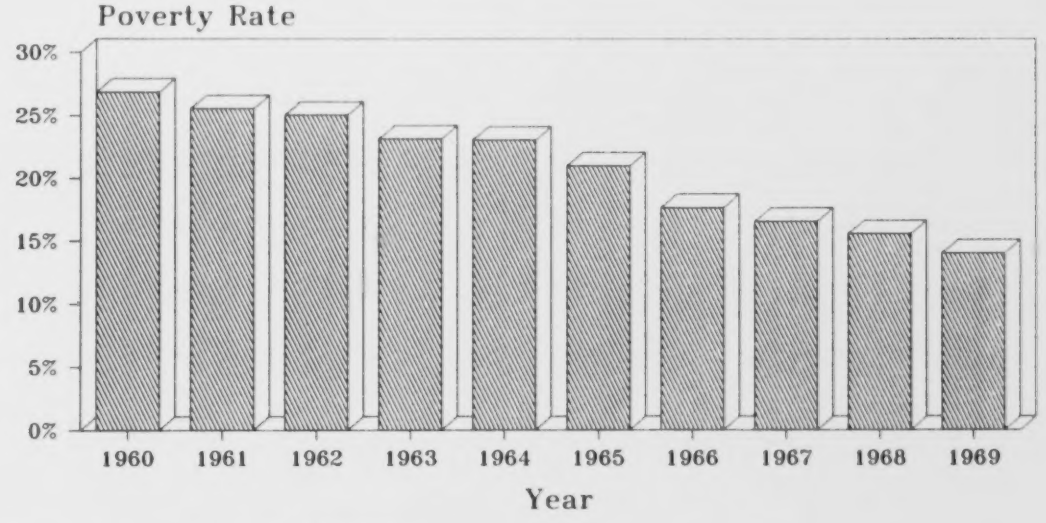
U.S. Child Poverty 1960–1969

Figure 1: Number of Children



Source: U.S.Bureau of Census
(Children below age 18)

Figure 2: Percent of Children



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census
(Children below age 18)

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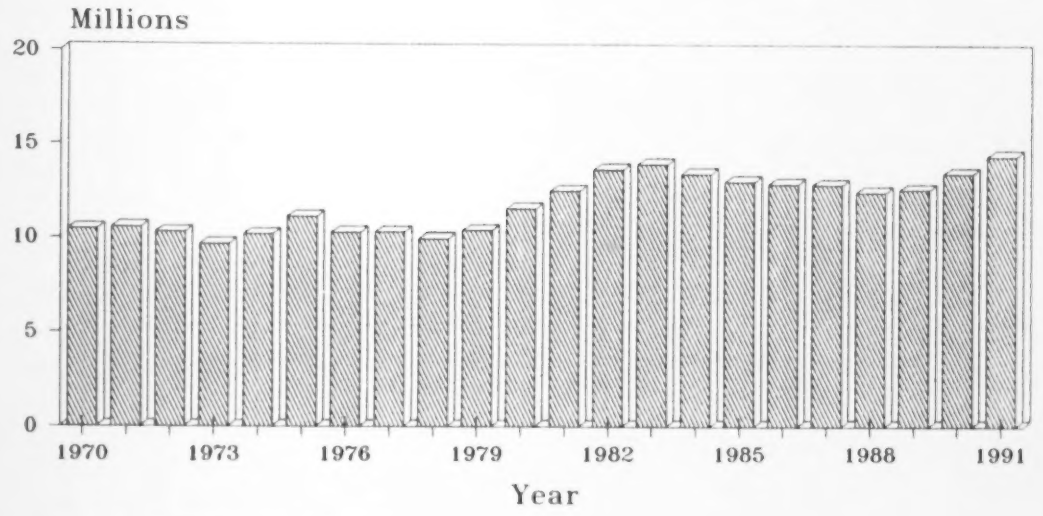
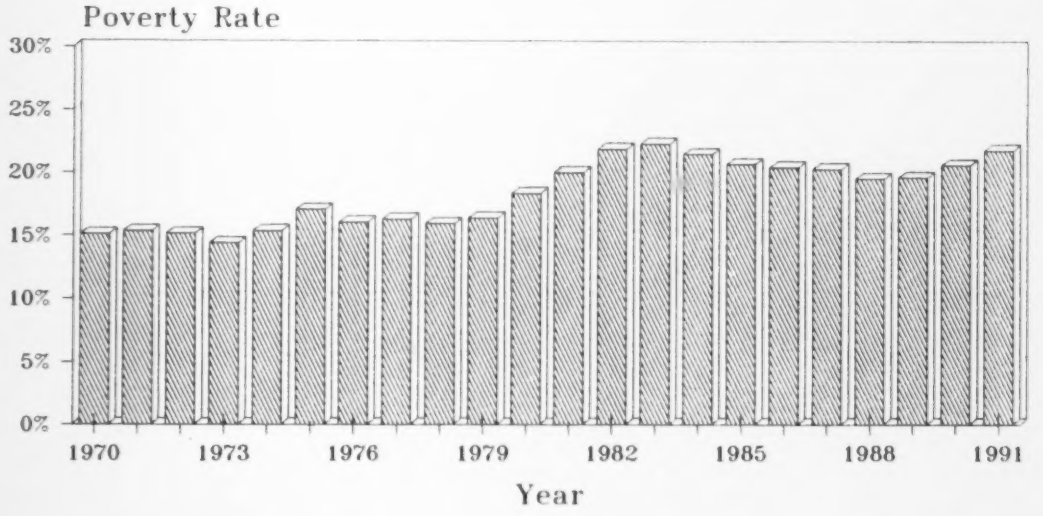
U.S. Child Poverty 1970–1991

Figure 3: Number of Children



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census
(Children below age 18)

Figure 4: Percent of Children



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census
(Children below age 18)

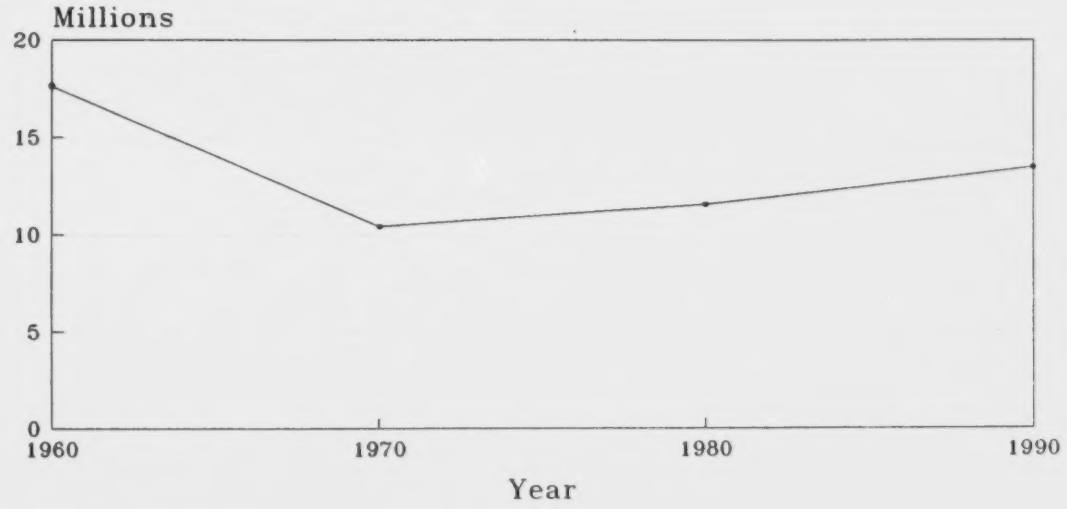
During the mid- to latter part of the 1980s, growth in the economy and reduction in unemployment, together with renewal of some funding for domestic programs by Congress, led to a reduction of approximately 1 million in the number of children living in poverty. The net change over these years was an overall increase of about 1 million more children in poverty in 1988 than in 1980.

From 1988 to 1991, a combination of factors led to an increase of nearly 2 million American children in poverty. Though childhood poverty data are not yet available for 1992, an estimated 300,000 more children have fallen into poverty during 1992. The total estimated change from 1988 through 1992 therefore, will be an increase of about 2.2 million children in poverty. Figures 5 and 6 depict the levels and rates of poverty among American children at the decennial years over the period 1960-1990. The trends described above can be clearly discerned when the entire period is viewed[4].

[4] Note that Figures 5 and 6 contain data for the decennial years only, to show the overall trends. From Figures 1-4 it is clear that there was variation around the trend lines shown in Figures 5 and 6.

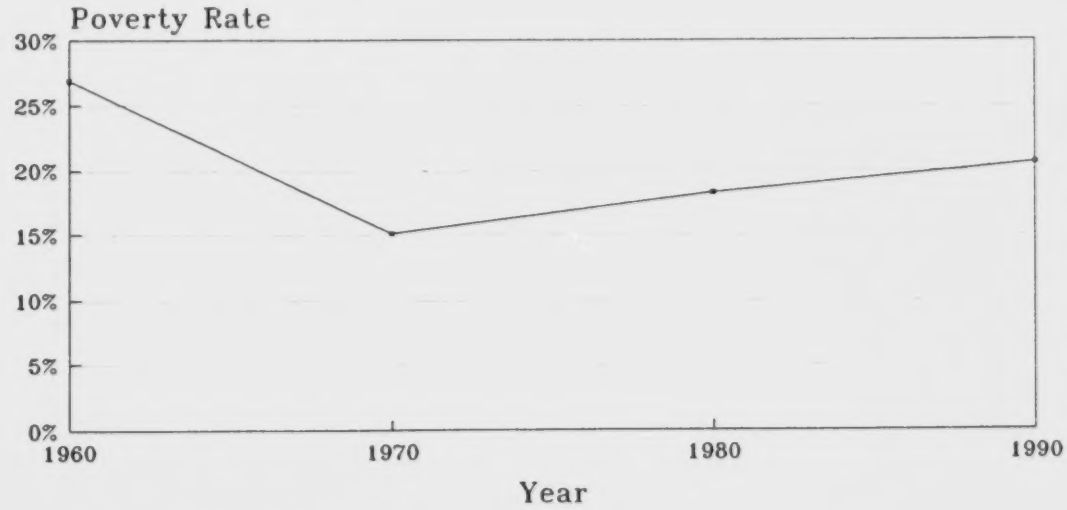
U.S. Child Poverty 1960–1990

Figure 5: Number of Children



U.S. Bureau of Census
(Children below age 18)

Figure 6: Percent of Children



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census
(Children below age 18)

RESULTS: ONE NATION, TWO FUTURES

If the new Administration and Congress are able to create and implement a combination of economic and social policies which reduce child poverty with the effectiveness of the years of the 1960s, childhood poverty will be virtually eliminated from America within the next eighteen years[5]. If, on the other hand, future social and economic policies are similar in effect to those of the period 1970-1991, childhood poverty will continue to increase in America. Under this scenario the number of children living in poverty could exceed 20 million within the next eighteen years.

The Census Bureau reported 14.3 million American children in poverty in 1991. Partial results of projections are summarized in the table below for years of particular interest, with details in Appendix 2. As seen in the table, two different periods in our recent history provide the basis for very different patterns of change in childhood poverty over the next twenty years. The results of these two sets of projections are contrasted in Figure 7 on the following page.

Projected Number of American Children in Poverty
Using Two Base Periods, Various Years

Year	Projections Based on 1960-1970	Projections Based on 1970-1991
	(1000s)	(1000s)
1992	13,644	14,635
1996	11,027	16,218
2000	7,913	17,442
2005	3,804	18,851
2010		20,081

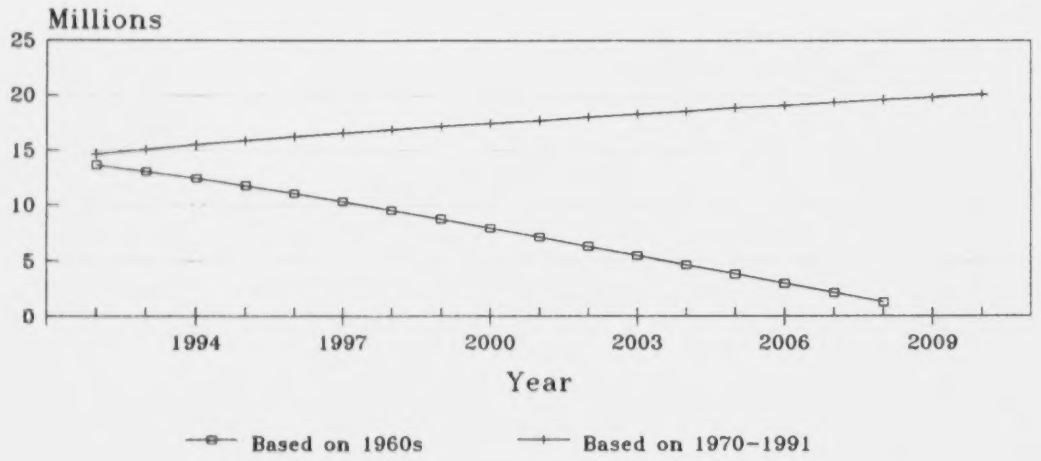
Source: Calculated Using CPS Data

[5] It is unlikely that America will ever be able to eliminate childhood poverty completely. Some analysts hypothesize a minimum level of "frictional" child poverty similar to frictional unemployment. There are also factors which influence child poverty in America that are not readily amenable to change by American policymakers. These factors may include changes in the international economy, changes in the structure of American families, long-term changes in relative wage levels, and structural shifts in the sectoral composition of employment in America and worldwide.

America currently faces a unique opportunity to eliminate child poverty. If our leaders succeed in crafting a set of economic and social policies that leads to sustained economic growth and effective policy responses to the dire problems of poverty among its citizens, then child poverty can be virtually eliminated during the first decade of the new century.

Alternatives For U.S. Child Poverty

Figure 7: Number of Children



Source: Calculated Using Census Data
(Children below age 18)

STATE CHILD POVERTY TRENDS

SUMMARY OF STATE CHILD POVERTY TRENDS

The national problem of child poverty is reflected in its growth in most states. This problem has not always been so severe, however, and is much worse in some states than in others. Over the period 1959-1969, according to decennial census data, the number of poor children in American families declined by 34.5 percent, while the poverty rate for those children declined by 39.3 percent.

* **During the 1960s child poverty rates declined by at least 20 percent in virtually every state, with the decline in some being as much as 60 percent.**

Over the period 1969-1989, by contrast, child poverty rates increased in thirty four states, with the rates in some states, particularly in America's industrial heartland, increasing between 40 and 50 percent.

* **Over the 1970s and 1980s state-level child poverty rates increased over 25 percent in many states, and as much as 90 percent in others.**

If state-level trends in child poverty rates continue over the next two decades as they did over the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, a majority of states may be heading for a problem of extraordinary proportions. If no change occurs to reverse the trend of the past two decades, child poverty rates of 15-20 percent will be the norm in most states, with a number of states having child poverty rates as high as 25-30 percent.

Alternatively, state and national leaders can cooperate in adopting economic and social policies which decrease poverty in ways that resemble more closely the trend occurring over the period 1960-1969. If this scenario prevails, child poverty can be virtually eliminated from twenty eight states by the year 2010, with child poverty rates falling below 5 percent in another fourteen.

OVERVIEW OF STATE CHILD POVERTY TRENDS

Changes in child poverty have varied among states over the past three decades, with differing patterns of change occurring during different periods. Table 1 shows poverty rates for related children in families from the three decennial censuses of interest in this study (in 1959, 1969 and 1989)[6]. Also shown are the percent changes in these poverty rates over the two periods 1959-69 and 1969-89.

As in the national-level analysis above, the different child poverty trends during the 1960s, and over the period of the 1970s and 1980s, are apparent in Table 1. The percent change in states' child poverty rates over the period 1959-69 versus 1969-89 shown in Table 1 emphasizes the overall differences in the trends during these two periods. It also shows the variation among states during these two periods.

The most striking result of this comparison is the widespread reduction in child poverty rates from 1959 to 1969 versus widespread increases from 1969 to 1989. Part of this difference is surely a result of differences in economic conditions over the two periods. Yet part of this dramatic contrast also reflects differences in the level of commitment among state and federal leaders to address the problem of poverty in their respective policy domains.

Another noteworthy contrast shown in Table 1 is in the regional variation of change in child poverty rates during these two periods. The reductions in child poverty rates occurring between 1959 and 1969 are fairly evenly distributed across regions of the country. The changes occurring between 1969 and 1989, on the other hand, exhibit some marked regional differences.

Six of the fifteen states with greatest increases in child poverty rates between 1969 and 1989 are located in the Midwest region, and four in the Northeast. Of the fifteen states whose child poverty rates continued to decrease during this period on the other hand, twelve are in the Southern region.

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[6] The decennial censuses are conducted during April of each tenth year (e.g., 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, etc.). However all income questions are retrospective, asking about income earned during the previous year. Hence all income and poverty data from the decennial censuses refer to the status during the previous year of persons enumerated during decennial years. State-level estimates of poverty rates and levels for related children under eighteen in families are not reported for census year 1960. However state-level poverty estimates from the census are reported for families during that year, as is the total number of related children in families with incomes below poverty level. Poverty rate estimates were produced for 1959 using these data.

RESULTS: THE STATES OF TWO AMERICAS

The divergent trends of the past three decades are the basis for the two sets of state-level projections contained in Tables 2-5 below. As seen in Table 2, if economic and social policies are as effective as those of the 1960s, child poverty can be virtually eliminated in well over half the states by the year 2010[7]. Under this future child poverty rates would be reduced by over 75 percent in well over three quarters of the states, with rates continuing to increase in only two states.

If on the other hand, policy failures and/or severe economic conditions lead to continuation of the trend of the 1970s and 1980s, child poverty rates over the next two decades will continue to increase dramatically in over three quarters of the states. As shown in Table 3, under this scenario more than one in four children will live in poverty in ten states and Washington, D.C. in the year 2010. Increases in child poverty rates of over 25 percent would occur in nearly a third of states, with rates in well over half the states increasing by more than 10 percent.

Under this scenario, the largest increases will occur in the midwestern and eastern states, with sizeable increases in many of the southwestern and western states as well. The midwestern states in what was once America's industrial heartland will experience the most dramatic increases in childhood poverty.

These results show graphically that America faces a unique opportunity to reduce child poverty in most states. If state and federal leaders succeed in a joint effort that leads to sustained economic growth and a viable safety net for families unable to work their way out of poverty, then child poverty can be virtually eliminated from most states by the end of the first decade of the new century.

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[7] It is unlikely that any state will ever completely eliminate childhood poverty for reasons discussed in footnote 5 above.

The geographic distributions of projected child poverty rates under each scenario are shown in Figures 9 and 10 below. The distributions shown in these figures can be compared with the distribution for 1989 shown in Figure 8. The overall decrease in child poverty rates under the scenario based on the 1960s is clearly contrasted with the widespread increases under the scenario based on the trends of the 1970s and 1980s. These projections show in stark contrast the two futures facing children in all states.

Figure 8: U.S. Child Poverty Rates For 1989
By State

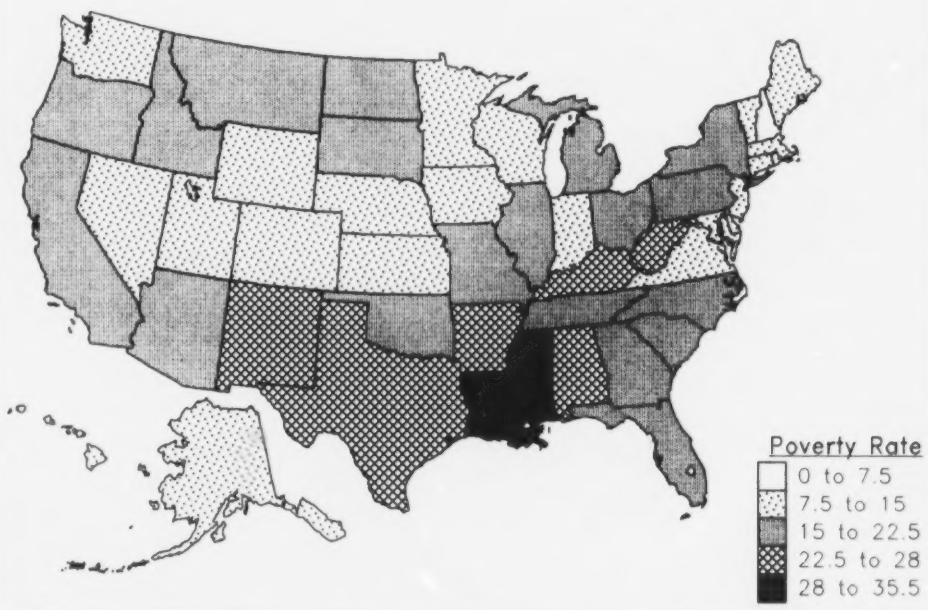

Figure 9: Projected State Child Poverty Rates For 2010
Base Period For Projections: 1959-1969

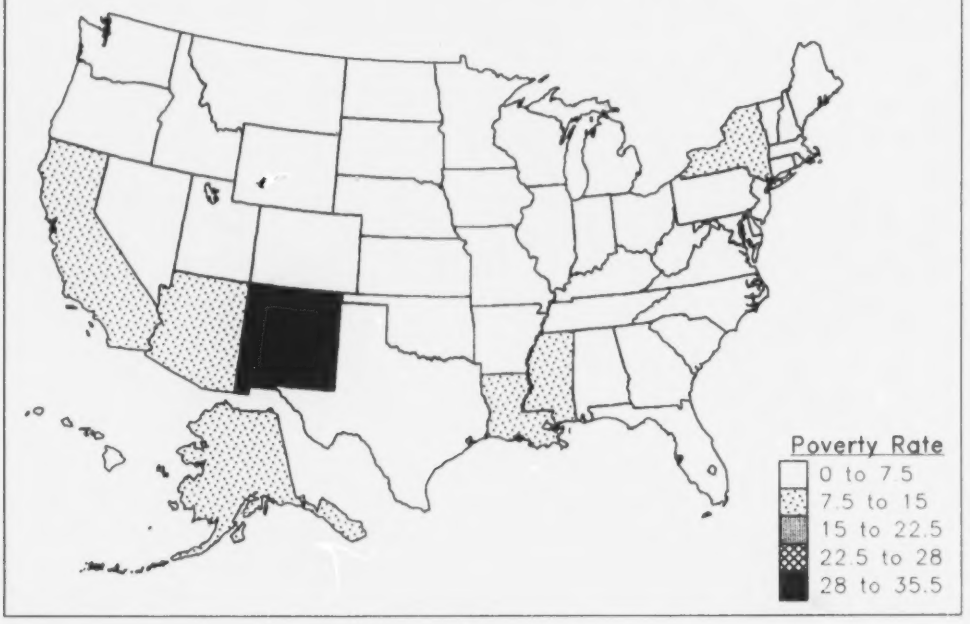

Figure 10: Projected State Child Poverty Rates For 2010
Base Period For Projections: 1969-1989

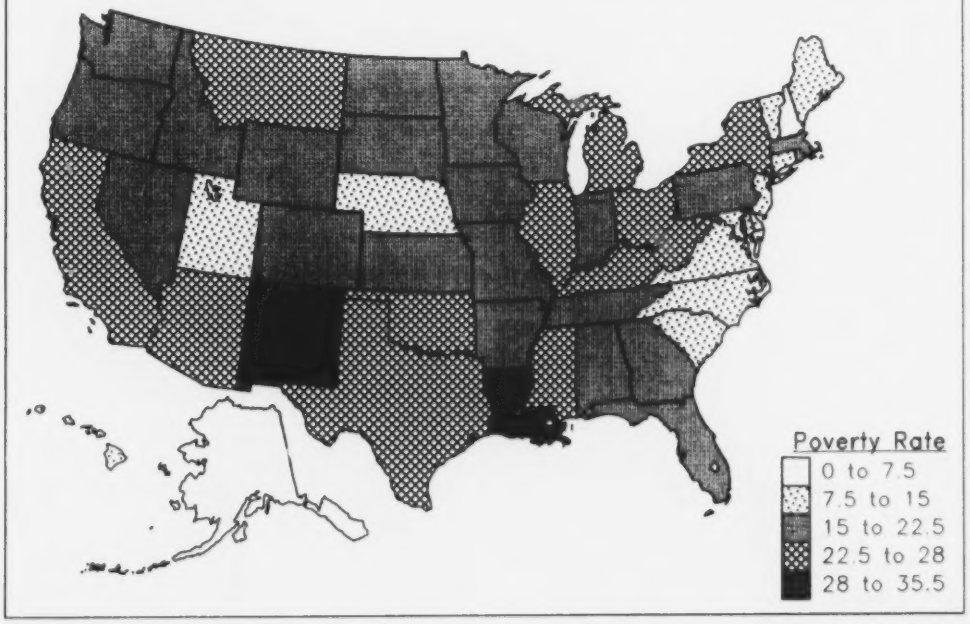

Table 1: Percent of Children In Poverty By State: 1959–1989

	1959 (%)	1969 (%)	1989 (%)	% Change In Rate 59–69 (%)	% Change In Rate 69–89 (%)
MI	16.73	9.40	18.20	−43.81	93.62
OH	17.81	10.00	17.60	−43.84	76.00
WI	17.45	8.90	14.60	−48.99	64.04
IL	17.64	11.00	16.80	−37.64	52.73
MT	19.60	13.30	19.90	−32.14	49.62
IN	19.94	9.30	13.90	−53.35	49.46
NY	17.88	12.70	18.80	−28.97	48.03
MA	14.56	8.80	12.90	−39.57	46.59
WA	16.00	9.80	14.00	−38.76	42.86
PA	20.83	10.90	15.40	−47.68	41.28
OR	17.94	10.80	15.20	−39.80	40.74
NV	12.83	9.10	12.80	−29.10	40.66
CA	16.21	12.70	17.80	−21.65	40.16
IA	26.18	10.10	14.00	−61.42	38.61
CT	11.66	7.80	10.40	−33.13	33.33
MN	20.88	9.50	12.40	−54.51	30.53
ID	19.09	12.70	15.80	−33.48	24.41
AZ	23.15	17.90	21.70	−22.69	21.23
NJ	14.30	9.20	11.00	−35.68	19.57
WY	16.29	11.80	14.10	−27.54	19.49
CO	18.93	12.70	15.00	−32.92	18.11
MO	32.02	14.90	17.40	−53.47	16.78
KS	23.79	12.00	13.90	−49.56	15.83
RI	21.02	11.70	13.50	−44.34	15.38
UT	14.19	10.60	12.20	−25.32	15.09
NE	27.08	12.20	13.50	−54.95	10.66
TX	33.27	21.70	24.00	−34.78	10.60
OK	37.60	19.70	21.40	−47.61	8.63
DC	25.47	23.10	25.00	−9.31	8.23
HI	14.60	10.30	11.10	−29.48	7.77
WV	37.90	24.30	25.90	−35.89	6.58
SD	32.87	18.90	20.10	−42.49	6.35
ND	26.64	15.90	16.90	−40.33	6.29
LA	38.20	30.00	31.20	−21.47	4.00
NM	25.75	26.70	27.50	3.67	3.00
VT	24.66	11.50	11.50	−53.37	0.00
KY	42.47	24.90	24.50	−41.37	−1.61
FL	35.36	19.20	18.30	−45.70	−4.69
DE	18.62	12.30	11.70	−33.96	−4.88
MD	18.14	11.50	10.90	−36.59	−5.22
ME	26.53	14.50	13.20	−45.35	−8.97
NH	13.53	7.90	7.00	−41.60	−11.39
TN	44.74	24.60	20.70	−45.01	−15.85
GA	39.33	24.10	19.80	−38.72	−17.84
AL	43.40	29.30	24.00	−32.49	−18.09
MS	50.90	41.30	33.50	−18.86	−18.89
AR	54.56	31.30	25.00	−42.63	−20.13
AK	14.37	14.70	10.90	2.27	−25.85
SC	39.82	28.70	20.80	−27.93	−27.53
VA	32.07	18.00	13.00	−43.88	−27.78
NC	40.32	23.60	16.90	−41.47	−28.39

(1) States are sorted in descending order by percent change in poverty rates from 1969 to 1989. Figures are for related children in families.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, decennial Censuses of Population.

Table 2: Projected State Child Poverty Rates to 2010
Base Period For Projections: 1959–1969 (1)

	1989 (%)	1995 (%)	2000 (%)	2005 (%)	2010 (%)
MO	17.40	7.13	0.00	0.00	0.00
KS	13.90	6.83	0.93	0.00	0.00
KY	24.50	13.96	5.18	0.00	0.00
AR	25.00	11.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
WV	25.90	17.74	10.94	4.14	0.00
VA	13.00	4.56	0.00	0.00	0.00
TX	24.00	17.06	11.27	5.49	0.00
TN	20.70	8.62	0.00	0.00	0.00
SD	20.10	11.72	4.74	0.00	0.00
MD	10.90	6.92	3.60	0.28	0.00
FL	18.30	8.60	0.52	0.00	0.00
ME	13.20	5.98	0.00	0.00	0.00
SC	20.80	14.13	8.56	3.00	0.00
IA	14.00	4.35	0.00	0.00	0.00
ND	16.90	10.45	5.08	0.00	0.00
RI	13.50	7.91	3.25	0.00	0.00
IN	13.90	7.52	2.20	0.00	0.00
MN	12.40	5.57	0.00	0.00	0.00
VT	11.50	3.60	0.00	0.00	0.00
AL	24.00	15.54	8.49	1.43	0.00
DE	11.70	7.91	4.74	1.58	0.00
OK	21.40	10.66	1.71	0.00	0.00
PA	15.40	9.44	4.47	0.00	0.00
WI	14.60	9.47	5.20	0.93	0.00
NH	7.00	3.62	0.81	0.00	0.00
NE	13.50	4.57	0.00	0.00	0.00
GA	19.80	10.66	3.05	0.00	0.00
NC	16.90	6.87	0.00	0.00	0.00
OR	15.20	10.92	7.35	3.78	0.21
NJ	11.00	7.94	5.39	2.83	0.28
MA	12.90	9.44	6.56	3.68	0.80
WA	14.00	10.28	7.18	4.08	0.97
OH	17.60	12.92	9.01	5.11	1.21
CO	15.00	11.26	8.14	5.03	1.91
HI	11.10	8.52	6.36	4.21	2.06
CT	10.40	8.08	6.15	4.22	2.29
ID	15.80	11.97	8.77	5.57	2.38
MI	18.20	13.80	10.14	6.47	2.81
IL	16.80	12.82	9.50	6.18	2.86
UT	12.20	10.04	8.25	6.45	4.65
WY	14.10	11.41	9.17	6.92	4.68
NV	12.80	10.56	8.69	6.82	4.96
MT	19.90	16.12	12.97	9.82	6.67
NY	18.80	15.69	13.10	10.51	7.92
CA	17.80	15.69	13.94	12.18	10.43
AZ	21.70	18.55	15.92	13.29	10.67
AK	10.90	11.10	11.26	11.42	11.59
MS	33.50	27.74	22.94	18.14	13.34
LA	31.20	26.28	22.18	18.08	13.98
DC	25.00	23.58	22.39	21.21	20.02
NM	27.50	28.07	28.54	29.01	29.49

(1) States are sorted in ascending order by projected child poverty rate for 2010.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, decennial Censuses of Population

Table 3: Projected State Child Poverty Rates to 2010
Base Period For Projections: 1969–1989 (1)

	1989 (%)	1995 (%)	2000 (%)	2005 (%)	2010 (%)
LA	31.20	31.56	31.86	32.16	32.46
NM	27.50	27.74	27.94	28.14	28.34
WV	25.90	26.38	26.78	27.18	27.58
MI	18.20	20.84	23.04	25.24	27.44
DC	25.00	25.57	26.05	26.52	26.99
MT	19.90	21.88	23.53	25.18	26.83
TX	24.00	24.69	25.26	25.84	26.42
AZ	21.70	22.84	23.79	24.74	25.69
OH	17.60	19.88	21.78	23.68	25.58
MS	33.50	31.16	29.21	27.26	25.31
NY	18.80	20.63	22.16	23.68	25.21
KY	24.50	24.38	24.28	24.18	24.08
OK	21.40	21.91	22.34	22.76	23.19
CA	17.80	19.33	20.60	21.88	23.15
IL	16.80	18.54	19.99	21.44	22.89
SD	20.10	20.46	20.76	21.06	21.36
WI	14.60	16.31	17.74	19.16	20.59
PA	15.40	16.75	17.88	19.00	20.13
MO	17.40	18.15	18.78	19.40	20.03
OR	15.20	16.52	17.62	18.72	19.82
ID	15.80	16.73	17.51	18.28	19.06
IN	13.90	15.28	16.43	17.58	18.73
AL	24.00	22.41	21.09	19.76	18.44
WA	14.00	15.26	16.31	17.36	18.41
AR	25.00	23.11	21.54	19.96	18.39
IA	14.00	15.17	16.15	17.12	18.10
ND	16.90	17.20	17.45	17.70	17.95
CO	15.00	15.69	16.27	16.84	17.41
FL	18.30	18.03	17.81	17.58	17.35
MA	12.90	14.13	15.16	16.18	17.21
NV	12.80	13.91	14.84	15.76	16.69
TN	20.70	19.53	18.56	17.58	16.60
WY	14.10	14.79	15.36	15.94	16.51
KS	13.90	14.47	14.95	15.42	15.90
MN	12.40	13.27	14.00	14.72	15.45
RI	13.50	14.04	14.49	14.94	15.39
GA	19.80	18.51	17.44	16.36	15.29
NE	13.50	13.89	14.22	14.54	14.87
UT	12.20	12.68	13.08	13.48	13.88
CT	10.40	11.18	11.83	12.48	13.13
NJ	11.00	11.54	11.99	12.44	12.89
SC	20.80	18.43	16.46	14.48	12.50
HI	11.10	11.34	11.54	11.74	11.94
ME	13.20	12.81	12.49	12.16	11.84
VT	11.50	11.50	11.50	11.50	11.50
DE	11.70	11.52	11.37	11.22	11.07
MD	10.90	10.72	10.57	10.42	10.27
NC	16.90	14.89	13.22	11.54	9.87
VA	13.00	11.50	10.25	9.00	7.75
AK	10.90	9.76	8.81	7.86	6.91
NH	7.00	6.73	6.51	6.28	6.06

(1) States are sorted in descending order by projected child poverty rate for 2010.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, decennial Censuses of Population

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Table 4: Projected State Child Poverty Levels to 2010
Base Period For Projections: 1959–1969 (1)

	1989 (1000s)	1995 (1000s)	2000 (1000s)	2005 (1000s)	2010 (1000s)
MN	142	67	0	0	0
VA	192	76	0	0	0
MO	225	99	0	0	0
AR	153	72	0	0	0
TN	247	111	0	0	0
AL	250	177	98	17	0
ME	40	20	0	0	0
SC	188	141	89	32	0
RI	30	19	8	0	0
PA	422	273	131	0	0
FL	512	282	19	0	0
MD	124	91	52	4	0
OK	175	85	12	0	0
IA	98	30	0	0	0
DE	19	15	10	4	0
TX	1,140	849	553	262	0
GA	336	212	67	0	0
KS	91	46	6	0	0
KY	230	134	48	0	0
WI	184	123	66	11	0
VT	16	6	0	0	0
WV	113	75	43	15	0
SD	39	24	9	0	0
NH	19	12	3	0	0
ND	29	18	8	0	0
IN	199	113	34	0	0
NE	57	19	0	0	0
NC	267	121	0	0	0
OR	107	79	53	27	1
WY	19	15	10	7	5
NJ	195	157	113	61	6
ID	48	36	25	16	7
HI	30	27	21	14	8
MT	43	33	25	17	11
MA	171	132	96	55	12
WA	171	132	92	52	12
CO	126	99	70	41	15
NV	36	33	30	24	18
CT	77	64	50	34	18
DC	28	27	25	23	22
AK	18	19	21	22	24
UT	76	68	56	45	33
OH	485	366	255	144	33
MI	440	341	252	161	68
IL	486	399	303	196	88
MS	246	219	182	146	107
LA	377	327	261	198	144
AZ	207	209	199	180	154
NM	120	136	146	154	165
NY	783	684	578	463	345
CA	1,336	1,331	1,270	1,166	1,042

(1) States are sorted in ascending order by projected child poverty level for 2010.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, decennial Censuses of Population

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Table 5: Projected State Child Poverty Levels to 2010
Base Period For Projections: 1969–1989 (1)

	1989 (1000s)	1995 (1000s)	2000 (1000s)	2005 (1000s)	2010 (1000s)
CA	1,336	1,640	1,877	2,094	2,314
TX	1,140	1,228	1,241	1,236	1,241
NY	783	899	978	1,043	1,101
FL	512	592	659	710	750
OH	485	563	617	669	707
IL	486	578	639	680	702
MI	440	515	573	627	667
PA	422	484	522	551	572
GA	336	369	383	390	386
AZ	207	257	297	335	371
LA	377	393	375	352	335
MO	225	252	267	281	289
NJ	195	228	252	270	280
IN	199	229	253	270	278
MA	171	198	222	240	256
WI	184	212	226	237	243
WA	171	196	210	220	230
TN	247	252	245	237	224
KY	230	234	226	222	212
AL	250	255	242	228	210
NC	267	263	251	234	208
MS	246	246	232	220	203
MN	142	159	169	177	183
MD	124	141	152	160	166
NM	120	135	142	150	158
VA	192	192	187	175	156
OR	107	120	127	135	140
OK	175	174	160	147	140
CO	126	137	139	137	136
SC	188	184	171	156	136
AR	153	150	140	129	118
CT	77	88	97	102	106
KS	91	97	99	100	100
UT	76	86	90	95	99
IA	98	105	106	103	98
WV	113	112	106	102	96
NV	36	44	51	56	62
NE	57	59	58	56	54
ID	48	51	51	52	53
MT	43	45	45	44	45
HI	30	35	38	40	44
ME	40	42	44	44	43
SD	39	42	41	42	42
RI	30	34	36	38	40
DC	28	30	29	29	30
DE	19	22	24	26	27
NH	19	22	24	25	25
ND	29	29	27	24	23
VT	16	18	19	20	20
WY	19	19	17	17	16
AK	18	17	16	15	14

(1) States are sorted in descending order by projected child poverty rate for 2010.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, decennial Censuses of Population

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Appendix 1

Number and Percent of American Children In Poverty
All Children Below Age 18: 1960–1991

Year	(1000s)	Percent
1960	17,634	26.9
1961	16,909	25.6
1962	16,963	25.0
1963	16,003	23.1
1964	16,051	23.0
1965	14,676	21.0
1966	12,389	17.6
1967	11,656	16.6
1968	10,954	15.6
1969	9,691	14.0
1970	10,440	15.1
1971	10,551	15.3
1972	10,284	15.1
1973	9,642	14.4
1974	10,156	15.4
1975	11,104	17.1
1976	10,273	16.0
1977	10,288	16.3
1978	9,931	15.9
1979	10,377	16.4
1980	11,543	18.3
1981	12,505	20.0
1982	13,647	21.9
1983	13,911	22.3
1984	13,420	21.5
1985	13,010	20.7
1986	12,876	20.5
1987	12,843	20.3
1988	12,455	19.5
1989	12,590	19.6
1990	13,431	20.6
1991	14,341	21.8

Source: Statistical Abstracts of the U.S.:1989; Table No. 738, p.454.
U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," series P–60, No. 161, and earlier reports. Data for 1988 and 1989 are from "Current Population Reports," Series P–60, No. 170–RD and No. 169–RD respectively.
Data for 1991 are from "Current Population Reports," Series P–60, No. 181.

Appendix 2

Projected Number of American Children In Poverty Under Two Alternative Futures: 1992–2012

	Projected Total Children Below 18 (1000s)	Projected Children In Poverty Based on 1960–70 (1000s)	Projected Children In Poverty Based on 1970–91 (1000s)
1991	65,918	14,341	14,341
1992	66,163	13,644	14,635
1993	67,052	13,037	15,045
1994	67,947	12,410	15,463
1995	68,679	11,734	15,849
1996	69,317	11,027	16,218
1997	69,833	10,286	16,561
1998	70,159	9,507	16,863
1999	70,470	8,719	17,162
2000	70,692	7,913	17,442
2001	70,906	7,101	17,721
2002	71,120	6,284	18,002
2003	71,333	5,463	18,284
2004	71,547	4,636	18,567
2005	71,761	3,804	18,851
2006	71,821	2,961	19,096
2007	71,882	2,116	19,342
2008	71,942	1,270	19,588
2009	72,003		19,834
2010	72,063		20,081

Source: Calculated using CPS data.

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

Projection Method and Data Sources

The method used in both the national-level and state-level analyses is based on a linear trend projection of childhood poverty rates. Beginning with base periods, an average annual absolute increment in the poverty rate is calculated for each period. The projection of the poverty rate to any year is then calculated by multiplying the number of years covered by the projection, by the average absolute increment, and adding that amount to the starting value (in this case, the 1991 rate).

The projected national-level childhood poverty rates thus obtained are then applied to the most recent Census Bureau population projections for all persons below age eighteen, to obtain projected numbers of children in poverty in each year up to 2012 for the nation as a whole. National-level population projections were recently produced by the Census Bureau, updated to include results of the 1990 census of population[8].

Both sets of projections assume that the childhood poverty rate in America will change in the future by an average, constant annual amount from the respective base period. The base periods used for the national-level projections are 1960-1970, 1970-1991. The second base period includes 1991 because it is the most recent year for which Census Bureau poverty data are available. The base periods used for the state-level projections are 1959-1969 and 1969-1989.

The data used in these analyses are from volumes published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and come from the Current Population Survey and the decennial censuses of population. All data sources are cited in the references provided below. A summary of the data used in the national-level analysis is included in Appendix 1. Data used in the state-level analysis are listed in Table 2 in the text above.

While very similar pictures of change in child poverty over time emerge from the two data sources used, significant differences can appear in estimates of poverty rates and levels for particular years. Because of this it is not possible to "sum up" state-level poverty level estimates from the decennial census and arrive at the national-level estimate from the CPS for any given year. Findings based on each data source must be considered separately, but both are needed for a complete view.

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[8] The Census Bureau produces population projections by single year age intervals for each year from 1992 to 2000. However, beyond the year 2000 projections are only provided for every fifth year (e.g., 2005, 2010, 2015, etc.). To obtain individual year projections for the intervening years, linear interpolation within each five year interval was utilized.

Advisors to the Poverty Policy Series

We express appreciation to the panel of advisors who have reviewed the preparation of this analysis. The final product, however, is the work of the Center, and does not necessarily reflect the views of the advisors themselves.

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** "Hunger in America: The Effects and Politics of a Solvable Problem," J. Larry Brown and Laura Sherman, in Nutrition Assessment: A Comprehensive Guide for Planning Intervention, C. Cowell, M. Simko, and J. Gilbride, eds., Aspen, 1993.

** "Hunger in America," J. Larry Brown, Health and Medical Annual, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1993 (in press).

** "The Politics of Hunger: When Science and Ideology Clash," International Journal of Health Sciences, J. Larry Brown, Stanley N. Gershoff, and John T. Cook, 1992.

** The Medford Declaration to End Hunger in the U.S. (in conjunction with other national hunger organizations), 1992.

** "Thirty Million Hungry Americans," analysis prepared for the House Select Committee on Hunger, Washington, D.C., 1992.

** "Childhood Hunger in Pawtucket, RI City Schools," John T. Cook and Deborah Dean, 1992.

** Living Hungry in America, J. Larry Brown, Mentor, New York, 1990.

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** "American Hunger Crisis: Poverty and Health in New England, Citizens' Commission on Hunger in New England", (J. Larry Brown), Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, 1986.

** "Hunger Counties", Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, 1986.

** "Increasing Hunger and Declining Help: Barriers to Participation in the Food Stamp Program", Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, 1986.

** "Hunger Reaches Blue Collar America", Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, 1987.

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